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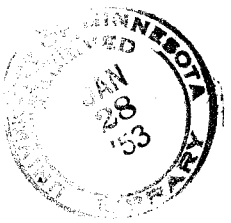

THE CHANGE

By FRANK CHODOROV

NEXT WEEK, the rite of presidential succession will be duly performed in the City of Washington. Although in the details of ponderosity and pretentiousness it will differ from the coronation of Queen Elizabeth next summer, both events are of a piece in that they stem from the ancient necessity of the State to impress its subjects with the continuity of political power. Both are rituals of succession.

One would suppose that in a political set-up that claims to be "democratic", the vote-designated leader would walk into his office on the day appointed, hang his coat on a nail and proceed with his job. That would be all. He is, we say, a hired hand. Well, a hired hand is a hand hired to do something, which he ought to get at as soon as he starts drawing wages. Inaugural balls and glamorous parades seem quite out of tune with this idea of government by employment.

This hired hand, however, is different from any other. In fact, his competence as a worker is of far less importance than his special character as the incarnation of the immortal State. It is a cardinal principle of political science — a principle that was temporarily put under a cloud by the Declaration of Independence, but is currently returning to the favor it enjoyed for centuries — that the State is an enduring and self-perpetuating entity. Unlike men — including kings and presidents — it never dies. The special ingredient in its composition that insures its longevity is the monoply of power it enjoys. That is continuous.

Mr. Eisenhower is, therefore, only an incident in the Inauguration. He is the mortal carrier of the immortal torch. He is the natural symbol of the supernatural continuity, and as such is the protagonist in the sacramental ceremonies. As his cortege moves down Pennsylvania Avenue, between the embanked mobs, the spirit of the State rides with him, and the acclamations and obeisances of the mobs merely attest their fealty to that spirit. "The king is dead, long live the king." And the Supreme Court Justice who administers the presidential oath only continues the custom that began long before Samuel anointed Saul; to be exact, it began in that unknown past when men first sought surcease from their private or collective difficulties in the promise of political power and worshipped at its shrine.

So be it.

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THE INDUCTION of President Eisenhower, however, is not quite like other accessions to the throne in that it must suffer the tradition of the Declaration. There is a widespread expectation, or hope, that his regime will effect — The Change. That is, his election is interpreted as a mandate from the people that he relieve them of certain or uncertain disabilities. He is expected to do a job, though, to be sure, it is not yet quite clear what is wanted of him.

That is the difference between the "hired hand" theory and, for instance, the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. The English will accept the elaborate rites for what they are: proof that there will always be an England. They will get some sort of vicarious enjoyment out of the spectacle, but they will not expect a consequent change in their economic, social and political life. In fact, they specifically prohibit their monarch from trying to effect any such change; her business is merely to represent the continuity of State. In this country, on the other hand, we expect our President, for whom the continuity of State seems to be an accepted side line, to apply himself to the immediate business of ruling us along lines that we think will make for our good.

The difficulty here is that we have not provided our new "hired hand" with a map of the path of rulership we would like him to follow. What exactly do we — or the 55 per cent of us who voted for him — want Mr. Eisenhower to do during his stewardship? Presumably, this question should have been put and answered during the campaign, when his application for the job was under consideration. But, the nature of a popular election is such that discussion of a clear-cut bill of particulars is rendered impossible, and ballots are cast on the basis of general impressions, prejudices and impulse. If Mr. Eisenhower were to refer to the campaign for some guidance as to what is expected of him, he would have to settle for the promises he made and assume that the 55 per cent want him to carry them out. These terms of his mandate are clear and unmistakable.

Promises on three distinct issues stand out from the mass of campaign verbiage, and they lend themselves conveniently to alliterative naming: Korea, corruption and Communism. His pledge to bring the Korean imbroglio to a satisfactory conclusion found strong favor with the electorate, so strong that he has apparently put the job first on his agenda. We can also expect him to apply himself to the eradication of the dishonest practices that characterized the outgoing Administration; he promised to do so. He also won many votes by his expressed intention to rid the government of employees who would substitute the Soviet political system for our traditional republic, and it is taken for granted that he will wield a vigorous broom.

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These things done, will he have carried out the assignment implied in his election? Whatever was said, or not said, during the campaign, the fact is that the purpose of the election was not only to hire a new hand, but also to fire the old one. The act of dismissal was as important as the act of employment. The 55 per cent, most certainly, voted for the new regime because the old one, which had asked for a continuance, was distasteful to them. It must be assumed that they voted for Mr. Eisenhower because of the promise implied in the campaign slogan "It's time for a change"; and though the details of The Change were not specified, it is nevertheless an important item in the mandate.

THE CHANGE wanted must be a new kind of rulership, and the best way to define it is by contrast: what is wanted must be the opposite of what we have had and voted against; otherwise, there would be no change.

The rulership that presumably came to an end last November 5 was characterized by a constantly increasing accumulation of power in the hands of the State, and a consequent shrinking of the area in which the individual can work out his destiny undisturbed. Under cover of improving the "general welfare", the ruling hierarchy developed an elaborate system of subventions, each of which entailed regulation, control, supervision, restriction. The contention of that rulership was that only through the intervention of benevolent police power could the individual better his circumstances and widen his horizon; left alone, he could only make a mess of his life.

Regardless of its purpose, each interventionary step entailed the establishment of an administrative machinery and its endowment with the economic power necessary to carry out the purpose. That is, the two indicia of the rulership that was presumably voted out on November 4 were: bureaucracy and taxation. If, therefore, the mandate of Change is to be carried out, Mr. Eisenhower must use his offices to effect a reduction of the bureaucracy and a lowering of taxes. This is indeed a redundancy, for if the agencies of intervention that were created by the repudiated regime are allowed to expire at the legal termination of their tenure, and are not replaced by others, the citizens will be saved both the costs of administration and the subsidies which they dispense. The Change can be effected by merely letting the interventionist laws run out; and, of course, by not passing new ones.

So much for internal affairs. The interventionist idea was not contained by our national borders, but envisioned the welfare of all the peoples of the world. What this

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grandiose scheme amounted to was an attempt to impose our culture on other peoples, on the premise that it would be good for them, whether they wanted it or not. The attempt failed in accomplishing the advertised purpose, as was to be expected, and succeeded only in saddling the American people with expense, to say nothing of the ill-will of those who were supposed to benefit from the scheme. The Change, in foreign affairs, would be a policy of keeping hands off other peoples' business, even while maintaining courteous relations with them. This, too, can be accomplished by the simple expedient of starving the interventionist agencies to the point of extinction.

THIS, IN BRIEF, is the mandate of The Change. Unfortunately, it was only implied, not clearly enunciated, during the campaign; the "hired man" was hired without being given unmistakable instructions as to what will be expected of him, and it therefore behooves the 55 per cent to remind him from time to time of his duty. We want The Change.

Mr. Eisenhower, assuming that he sees this obligation in the verdict of the polls, will have no easy time in carrying it out, for the articulate agents of the 45 per cent have shown clear signs of their purpose to block an abandonment of interventionism. Hardly had the election returns been counted than their press rang out with the warning to Mr. Eisenhower that he must not attempt to "turn back the clock"; indeed it lectured him on the fatuity of trying it, for he would only run into ineluctable "historic forces". Since these interventionists have firmly ensconced themselves in the public press, on college faculties and in the management of wealthy foundations, they have the means of making this theme song well heard.

They will have active cohorts in the legislative and judicial branches, and the bureaucrats will tenaciously cling to their sinecures. Thus, The Change is destined to meet up with vicious blocking and tackling, and such is the fervor of the interventionists that we must expect from them a good dose of "unsportsmanlike" methods. Nor will they hesitate to take advantage of the complacency of those who, resting on the election returns, are bleating "give the guy a chance". The interventionists are not for giving him a chance.

The Change will run into a more fundamental difficulty. The effect of interventionism is to undermine the moral fiber of its beneficiaries; they become so completely dependent on support that the mere suggestion that they stand on their own feet is resented as an invasion of their "rights". So many segments of the population have made adjustment to living by subventions that the dropping of each one will give rise to horrendous howls. Yet, the only way to restore them to manhood, and thus save the country from disintegration, is to deny them the hypodermic.

All in all, the 55 per cent have a job ahead. They did not win the citadel at the polls; they only got a foothold on the enemy's shore. They are in for a continuing fight if they want — The Change.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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On the One Hand: On the Rialto of Capital opinion various tresses struggle to win the answer to the $64 question: will the new Administration cut down and clean out the State Department?

One affirmative reply — cause of much weighing and pondering in club armchairs — is that the job will be done because Dulles has privately told visitors the State Department home ranks will be cut down 50 per cent and the Department's foreign activities will be reduced by 75 per cent. But, does he mean it?

Chief cutter on Capitol Hill is Representative John Taber, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. He breathes optimism about the success of his economy drive. He places a good deal of hope on the back-stairs influence of General Lucius Clay who is known to have had a hand in naming of some of the high-level members of the Ike official family — for instance, of Secretary of Treasury Humphrey. According to Taber, Clay has developed, over the past eight years, a lot of disapproval of the State Department's operations abroad. And now Clay is known to be responsible for the selection of Mr. Donald Lourie, President of Quaker Oats Company, to the post of Administrative Undersecretary of State. Lourie would presumably have the power to hire, fire, cut, clean and streamline. The Stuart family, which owns Quaker Oats, belongs to the Taft wing of the GOP.

But why is "grey eminence" Lucius Clay a stern critic of the Department's foreign activities? Cong. Taber, in an interview with HUMAN EVENTS, said that Clay, when Commander in Germany, discovered a nest of Communists and fellow-travellers running information and radio services in Berlin; and dismissed them. But when McCloy took over as U. S. High Commissioner, all the pink brethren came back again. General Clay is determined to do what he can to stop this sort of thing.

But will Lourie enjoy unrestricted power?

On the Other Hand: A few days after the selection of Mr. Lourie, there came the appointment of General Walter Bedell ("Beedle") Smith to the post of Undersecretary of State for policy. In the past forty-eight hours, members of Congress have angrily asked: which undersecretary is going to run the cutting and cleaning operation? Beedle knows more, infinitely more, about the State Department setup than Lourie; Beedle has been here a comparatively long time, as head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

This column has not heard as much grumbling in Congress about any other of Ike's appointments as about that of Smith; not even about the choice of Durkin. Why?

Beedle is an old friend of Anna Rosenberg, who managed to introduce a lot of strange characters into the Pentagon, thereby offending not only Congress but the old-line regular Army officers. He is a protege of both Roosevelt and Truman Administrations — "a pet" of FDR and Harry, as members of Congress put it. During his term as head of the Central Intelligence Agency, that spy organization has deteriorated, in the view of Capitol Hill. Beedle gathered under him in CIA an odd collection of amateur spies and socialists, the latter favoring socialistic regimes abroad (as brought out in this column of November 19). The trail of his agency's blunders continues right down to the past week.

On January 9, the *Washington Post*, not usually given to criticizing Beedle and his CIA, reported with horror that the organization had been interfering in the politics of several Caribbean republics. In the case of Guatemala, Beedle's "hawkshaws" wanted to overthrow the government and blame it on the United Fruit

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Company; in Costa Rica, they tapped the phone of the President. Old-line diplomats rose in horror and there were resignations from CIA. The lethal effect of these revelations on other Latin-American governments can be imagined.

Finally, to complete this unattractive pedigree, Capitol Hill regards Beedle as the man who failed (according to the Army Board report of 1944) to warn General Marshall on the fatal eve of Pearl Harbor that the Japanese were about to attack us.

Congressmen conclude that Beedle has been given the job of Undersecretary of State (for policy) to check the efforts of the "green hand", Donald Lourie, in his mission to purge the State Department and to reduce it to economical proportions. And they add: unless the State Department is subjected to a clean-up and an economy drive, how can we bring about a reduction in the budget, and a reduction in taxes?

No Secrets from Russia: On a TV program recently, Mrs. Roosevelt of the US mission to the United Nations was asked what she thought about Communist espionage agents working for the UN. She replied that it didn't make any difference, for there isn't any spying they can do there. "We share all our secrets", she said. "That is the purpose of the UN—for all member nations to share their information."

The ghastly thing about Mrs. Roosevelt's reply is that, so far as she can possibly know, she spoke the truth.

The McCarran Committee hearings disclosed that, during the preliminary secret conferences setting up the UN in 1944, every State, Army, Navy, Treasury and special agency document, report or summary—top-secret or not — was made available to Alger Hiss as executive secretary "on the international level". Under the UN charter, member nations are supposed to pool their information and, to a certain extent, their military and financial resources. But it is well known that the USSR and its satellites provide precious little real information to the organization, while all the information pooled by the USA is available to Soviet and satellite employees in the International Secretariat.

We supply most of the pool. Stalin takes what he wants of it. He is not on record as having put anything into it except squawks about "capitalistic war-mongering".

Revolt Against Internationalism: Capital observers are watching closely the rolling up of what looks to be a nation-wide popular movement against international meddling in our own rights and affairs. Senator Bricker (Rep., Ohio), on January 8, again proposed an amendment to the Constitution to protect time-honored rights of citizens against the encroachment of international treaties and conventions. This is Bricker's second try — he offered his proposal in the last Congress. Observers recall that fifty-six Senators could not get the Bricker amendment out of Committee last year because of the opposition of the Democratic Administration and Secretary Acheson. What will be the attitude of Secretary Dulles? It is an acid test which he must face, it is widely agreed here.

Clarence Manion, former Professor of Law at Notre Dame, and Mr. Frank Holman, former President of the American Bar Association, have been speaking all over the country in behalf of the Bricker amendment. Following a Manion speech early in December before the American Farm Bureau Federation, the farm convention passed a resolution calling for "an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that no treaty shall ever take precedence over our laws and Constitution". And the American Bar Association has said that "patriotic citizens should see that consideration of this amendment is the first order of Congressional business next January. It will take a supporting popular uprising to protect the Constitution from this serious menace of foreign treaty law."

Tax Front: Mrs. Mary Cain, publisher of the Summit, (Mississippi) *Sun*, last week defied the Internal Revenue Bureau by sawing off a padlock on her plant, placed there by the tax collectors as a result of her refusal to pay social security taxes. Mrs. Cain last year told the Bureau that the ss. taxes levied on her as

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"self-employed" were illegal and that she would not pay them. After many months of dispute, the local revenue bureau last week padlocked her publishing house.

The Summit incident adds one more to the list of revolts against the Treasury, including the case of Vivien Kellems of Connecticut (often mentioned herein), the housewives of Marshall, Texas, and finally the South Middleboro (Mass.) candy shop proprietor mentioned in this column last week. None of these cases, due to sharp maneuvering by Secretary Snyder's organization, have gone through the courts with a real showdown on the constitutional issue. But, the list is significantly growing.

This significance has apparently not escaped the attention of Chairman Daniel A. Reed (N. Y.) of the incoming Ways and Means (Tax) Committee of the House, who has suggested an 11 per cent income tax cut; nor of his colleague, Rep. Chauncey Reed (Ill.). The latter has just proposed a constitutional amendment to limit the Government to a 25 per cent tax on individual incomes unless three-fourths of both Senate and House memberships voted for a higher levy. But, should the latter happen, the top rate could not be more than 15 percentage points above the lower rate.

A similar amendment was approved by 28 state legislatures (only 4 short of the necessary two-thirds, or 32), but at present seems to be encountering difficulties. The Chauncey Reed proposal is designed to remove obstacles which had impeded passage of the latter. Congressman Chauncey Reed is slated to be Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee which would consider his measure before its submission to the body of the lower chamber.

Radio Front: Frank Edwards, AFL news commentator on Mutual Broadcasting System, "brings to his job of news 'analysis' a lively imagination, fortified by a bellicose mood toward big business, conservative members of Congress, and all others who refuse to conform to the line laid down by the nation's labor politicians", writes Victor Lasky in *USA: Magazine of American Affairs,* November issue.

A number of radio listeners who have wondered how this commentator manages to get away with his pretense of being a "news analyst" will welcome an extended critical article on what he has been doing. Mr. Lasky is a skilled "debunker", having (with Ralph de Toledano) written the exposé of the Hiss case, *Seeds of Treason.* Lasky remarks: "His (Edwards) inaccuracy in reporting on business, his consistent bias against it, his use of loaded phrases to describe things he disapproves of, call for some kind of explanation — by him and by the AFL. The public, it goes without saying, should always be alert against congressional corruption, but it does no one, including AFL leadership, any good to suggest that hundreds of congressmen are 'owned' by big business. That is just plain demagogy. It does no one any good to make profits and dividends sound like something criminal, to call every price rise 'profiteering', to talk as though a rise in the stock market is bad news."

Another Inaugural: As the nation waits to hear what Eisenhower will say as he takes the oath, we hope that his utterance will contain as much sound philosophy as is embodied in the inaugural address of the new Governor of Nebraska, Robert Crosby (as published in the Omaha *World Herald,* January 8).

Gov. Crosby pitches the preamble of his address to the "conflict of ideas". He said: "During my own little campaigns of last year I felt fright at the number of people in this state who have come to look on government as our main hope for bringing happiness, self-respect and material welfare to people. This is such a sad fallacy — the more sad because it has entrapped the minds of men so often. For those who want to see this truth, let them finger the pages of history. . . . I regard the proper role of state government in 1953 as being one of restraint — state officers and the Legislature should exercise a restraint far beyond what we have seen in other states or in Washington.

"By restraint I mean this: only the essential services of state government should be maintained, and that must be done with the least outlay of money and man power. Any savings of tax money and employment hours that we can manage belong first to individual men and women, each of whom would rather make his own way by his own effort.

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"Government fiat cannot rub out the fact that each of us is essentially alone in this world, and that each of us has only a brief interval in which to justify his personality. Whatever of serenity that I capture in my time will come through my own effort, it will not be conferred upon me by government."

Between Covers: As Marshal Tito, Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, shows signs of rebellion against the capitalist West, we receive an interesting pamphlet, "Titoslavia", by Luben Dimitroff, published by the *Macedonian Tribune* (107 S. Capitol St., Indianapolis, Ind.). The brochure is a full-dress attack on Tito's regime, his brand of Communism and the policy of the West (the U. S. prominently) of aiding Tito economically and militarily.

Statistics cited in the publication reveal some amazing figures on the magnitude of U. S. aid to Tito, the wastage of his industrial program and the mass strike of the peasants against his tyranny. The pamphlet closes with words from the Hon. Arthur Bliss Lane, former Ambassador to Yugoslavia: "I personally feel that in helping Tito financially and militarily we are building up a Communist state which has as its aim the suppression of all liberties. . . . Such policy is inconsistent with our Western countries to resist the Kremlin form of aggression."

The Wrong Question: The "investigatingest" Congress took a look, too near its close, at the reported "subversive" activities of tax-exempt foundations; it is expected that this search will be continued by the new Congress. For, the Capital was not altogether satisfied with the accomplishments of this probe.

The investigators concentrated their attention on the support given by these richly endowed institutions to Soviet-lovers, either as individuals or as members of groups. The investigations revolved around the question "Are you a Communist?"

Frank Hughes, in his well-documented booklet *The Bias of Great Wealth* (Devin-Adair Company, 23 East 26th St., N. Y.), shows that by a curious coincidence the millions of dollars left by Guggenheim, Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller and others are being channelled into the hands of men who, whether or not they have Communistic leanings, are on record as being opposed to the regime of private property which made these foundations possible. Curiously, too, the executive dispensers of these millions always seem to be of the same mind, regarding property and limited government, as those to whom they dispense donations; very often, the donors and the donees are the same persons.

Mr. Hughes points out that these foundations singularly do not support writers or publishers whose bias is in favor of private property or limited government — usually classed as "conservatives"; nor do the "research" projects they finance come up with any theses unfavorable to the interventionist programs of the New Deal and Fair Deal. And, when they lend a hand to historians, they invariably pick out those who find in recent history much to support the official position of the Roosevelt-Truman regimes. Taken all in all, the foundations indicate a liking for the trend toward collectivism.

How are you going to prove or disprove that by asking the question "Are you a Communist?" To be sure, Congress should be interested in law-breakers, actual or potential, and perhaps the stock question is dictated by this consideration. But, is it impossible for the investigations to leave law-breaking aside and, merely for the purpose of enlightening the country, ask such questions as: "Are you opposed to private property?" — "Do you believe that the only business of government is to protect life and property?" — "Where do you stand on Locke and Adam Smith, in contradistinction to Hegel and Keynes?" Such questions, put to their executives in connection with the books they have financed and the projects they have supported, would reveal to the public more about these foundations than the fact that one of them was once headed by Alger Hiss.

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